

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 ACDA-12 EB-08 NRC-05 OES-07 SOE-02  
DOE-11 CEQ-01 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01 STR-07 AID-05  
HA-05 /152 W

-----021295 082103Z /75

P 081840Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6441  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO  
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 1792

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: ENRG, WCON, ETRG, BR  
SUBJ: PRESIDENT GEISEL'S VISIT TO BONN -- BRAZILIAN PRESS COVERAGE  
ON THE EVE OF THE VISIT - EMBASSY COMMENT

REFS: BRASILIA 1717, (B) BRASILIA 1605 (NOTAL), (C) BRASILIA  
1566 (NOTAL), (D) BONN 3763, (E) BONN 03873

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

SECOND OF TWO-PART MESSAGE

1. IN TWO LENGTHY ARTICLES AND A MAJOR EDITORIAL, O ESTADO  
DE SAO PAULO, MARCH 3 AND 5, CRITICALLY EXAMINED THE ASSUMPTION  
(UNDERLYING GEISEL-SILVEIRA POLICIES) THAT THERE EXISTS AN  
EXTENSIVE CONGRUENCE OF FRG AND BRAZILIAN NATIONAL INTERESTS,  
FACILITATING A PURSUIT OF AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY  
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BY BRAZIL. THE PAPER'S SKEPTICAL CONCLUSION WAS THAT THE  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BRASILIA AND BONN IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT  
TO BRAZIL THAN THE FRG, AND THAT IT IS NOT IN THE FRG'S  
INTEREST TO RISK POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT BEYOND THE  
MINIMUM NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN ITS COMMERCIAL CRED-  
IBILITY. DESPITE A CONVERGENCE OF INTERESTS, THE TWO  
COUNTRIES HAVE QUITE DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES, THE PAPER

STATED. BRAZIL, IN THE VIEW OF GERMAN SPECIALISTS, WILL REMAIN A DEVELOPING COUNTRY FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE SOME IN BRAZIL'S GOVERNING ELITE, WHO WISHED TO PLACE BRAZIL IN THE FIRST WORLD, FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA'S UNGA SPEECH LAST SEPTEMBER HAD MADE IT CLEAR ONCE MORE THAT BRAZIL, ALTHOUGH A MODERATE, SOUGHT TO PROJECT ITSELF AS A THIRD WORLD COUNTRY.

2. A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH BRAZIL, THE PAPER CONTINUED, WOULD LIMIT GERMAN FREEDOM OF MANEUVER. THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE NUCLEAR ACCORD NOWWITHSTANDING, THE CORE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WAS ECONOMIC AND, IN VIEW OF GERMAN ANALYSTS, SHOULD REMAIN THAT WAY. A RELATIONSHIP AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL, ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT BE ATTRACTIVE TO THE FRG FROM THE STANDPOINT OF NEAR-TERM ECONOMIC INTERESTS, COULD OVER TIME HAVE NEGATIVE REPERCUSSIONS ON THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND, ABOVE ALL, ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. BRAZIL, ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD ALWAYS REMAIN AN IMPORTANT PARTNER FOR THE FRG. LONG-TERM ECONOMIC INTERESTS OBLIGED THE FRG TO FOLLOW A BALANCED APPROACH TOWARD THE BRAZILIAN ELITES--THE ELITE HOLDING POWER AS WELL AS THE COUNTER-ELITE--KEEPING IN MIND POSSIBLE FUTURE FORMS OF COOPERATION  
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ESPECIALLY WITH OPPOSITIONISTS WHO AT SOME FUTURE TIME MIGHT DEFEND A EUROPEAN-TYPE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LINE.

5. AS REGARDS THE LONGER TERM, THE ARTICLE CONTINUED, THE QUESTIONS REMAINS OPEN WHETHER THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS COULD EVER COUNT ON A BRAZIL FULLY ALLIED TO THE WEST. THE VIEW IN GERMAN CIRCLES WAS THAT BRAZIL'S CONSCIOUS POLICY OF ELIMINATING ITS SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH THE US WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLETED WITH A EUROPEAN ALTERNATIVE--PERHAPS A GERMAN ONE. BRAZILIANS BELIEVED, SO THIS VIEW WENT, THAT THE FRG COULD BA A PARTNER AS TECHNOLOGICALLY ABLE AS THE US, BUT WITHOUT THE SAME INSTRUMENTS OF POLITICAL PRESSURE. GERMAN SPECIIALISTS ON BRAZIL, ON THE OTHER HAND, WERE CONVINCED THAT THE WESTERN WOULD WOULD HAVE IMPORTANCE FOR A BRAZIL EMERGING TO MAJOR POWER STATUS ONLY DURING AN INTERMEDIATE PHASE. THESE EXPERTS ALSO BELIEVED, THE ARTICLE SAID, THAT TO GIVE UP THE POSTURE OF DISTANCING BRAZIL FROM THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES WAS NOT AN OPTION AVAILABLE

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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 1792

TO THE CURRENT ELITE. GERMAN SPECIALISTS WERE CONCERNED THAT THE FRG AVIOD BECOMING OVERLY COMMITTED COMMERCIALLY IN WAYS THAT COULD COMPROMISE ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION AS A RESULT OF THE INDEPENDENT ACTION OF GERMAN COMPANIES AND ENTREPRENEURS. THE ARTICLE SUGGESTED THAT THERE WERE DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THIS CONCERN WITHIN THE FRG, REFLECTED, FOR EXAMPLE, IN A DIFFERENCE OF ATTITUDES OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE MINISTRY OF RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY TOWARD THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENT.

4. EMBASSY COMMENTS: THE MASSIVE COVERAGE OF THE GEISEL VISIT, PRECEDED BY GRADUALLY INCREASING REPORTING OVER MANY WEEKS--NOT RECIPROCATED BY GERMAN MEDIA, AS THE BRAZILIAN PRESS HAS BEEN QUICK TO ACKNOWLEDGE--EXCEEDS BY A CONSIDERABLE MARGIN THE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE PRESIDENT'S VISITS TO MEXICO, THE EARLIER  
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GEISEL VISITS TO PARIS, LONDON, AND TOKYO, OR THEPEREZ

VISIT HERE LAST NOVEMBER. THE FRG ASSISTED IN THIS BY FACILITATING EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEWS WITH ITS TOP TEAM AND BY LARGELY ACCEPTING THE BRAZILIAN VOCABULARY ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THIS HIGH LEVEL OF ATTENTION ARE: (A) THE EXPECTATIONS CREATED BY THE GOB ITSELF ABOUT THE BROADER POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VISIT IN CEMENTING OF WHAT IS OFFICIALLY CONSIDERED HERE A HISTORIC PARTNERSHIP; (B) THE PERCEPTION IN BRAZIL THAT BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN THE OBJECT TO US PRESSURES IN RESPECT TO THEIR NUCLEAR POLICIES; (C) THE ROLE OF THE FRG AS BRAZIL'S SECOND MOST IMPORTANT ECONOMIC PARTNER; AND (D) A PERCEPTION BY INFORMED OPINION THAT THE VISIT REPRESENTS THE CULMINATION OF FOUR YEARS OF GEISEL-SILVEIRA FOREIGN POLICY DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE US ROLE, AT LEAST IN RELATIVE TERMS, AND GIVE BRAZIL GREATER INDEPENDENCE FROM THE US.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS A PERCEPTION HERE OF THE ANOMALY OF BRAZIL PURSUING A POLICY WHICH SEEKS TO RELY ON A KEY MEMBER OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO GAIN GREATER FREEDOM OF ACTION VIS-A-VIS THE US AND A QUESTION OF WHETHER THE POLICY IS NOT OVERREACHING ITSELF IN TRYING TO EXPLOIT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE US AND THE FRG IN ORDER TO TRY TO OBTAIN FRG POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR BRAZILIAN OBJECTIVES. AS O ESTADO SAYS IN ITS PRINCIPAL EDITORIAL ON THE GEISEL VISIT: "THE FRG ... (IS) THE PUREST EXPRESSION OF WHAT THE WEST STANDS FOR ... A DEMOCRATIC AND PLURALISTIC WORLD IN WHICH SOLIDARITY IS SPONTANEOUS AND BY CONSENT... IN THIS WESTERN WORLD, NO SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP CAN BE

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EXCLUSIVE AND, STILL LESS, AN ALTERNATIVE, AS MACHIAVELLIAN MINDS WOULD SUGGEST, WHO ARTFULLY ATTRIBUTE TO BRAZIL .. THE PURPOSE TO DIMINISH THE US ROLE AND COME TO SUPPOSE THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WOULD ENDTER A SIMILAR GAME."

6. WHILE GEISEL'S RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON BRAZIL-US RELATIONS HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE AND CAREFUL TO AVOID ANY HIM OF ANIMUS TOWARD THE US IT APPEARS TO US THAT THIS TRIP, COMING AS CLOSE AS IT DOES TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S VISIT, IS INTENDED TO CONVEY CERTAIN FAIRLY EXPLICIT SIGNALS:

A. TO PUT US ON NOTICE THAT BRAZIL NOW HAS A PRINCIPAL ALTERNATIVE SOURCE OF CAPITAL AND KNOW-HOW AND A MAJOR EXPORT MARKET;

B. TO ENCOURAGE THE USG, IN THE FACE OF INCREASED

BRAZILIAN STAYING POWER, TO MODERATE ITS EFFORTS TO  
EFFECT CHANGES IN BRAZILIAN POLICIES, ESPECIALLY IN  
THE NUCLEAR AREA; AND

C. TO REASSURE THOSE SECTORS OF THE BRAZILIAN  
ELITE CONCERNED OVER THE GROWING DISTANCE BETWEEN  
THE US AND BRAZIL THAT ALTERNATIVES ARE INDEED  
AVAILABLE AND THAT THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION HAS  
BEEN CORRECT IN PURSUING WHAT IT CONSIDERS A MORE  
BALANCED, REDUCED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US.  
JOHNSON

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## Message Attributes

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